1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

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626 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

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562 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

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LIFE CYCLE

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846 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No intercourse is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

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881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

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[302] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.

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551 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

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